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ABSTRACT

A telephone questionnaire was designed to collect data on community identification, community involvement, and newspaper use. The entire questionnaire was pretested three times over the telephone and was revised after each pretest, yielding a final form between five and ten minutes in length. The questionnaire was administered to a proportionate random sample of 800 telephone subscribers in the Seattle (Washington) area during June 1979. Although a thorough analysis of the findings has not been completed, an initial correlational analysis was conducted to pursue questions of whether newspaper use was positively associated with cognitive identification and psychological closeness to community. A variety of measures of newspaper subscription and readership consistently showed strong, positive associations with cognitive identification. These associations survived several tests for spuriousness. Newspaper use showed little association with psychological identification under any of the conditions tested. (RL)

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READERSHIP AND COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION

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CS205238

News Readership and Community Identification

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THE PROBLEM

Going back to the pioneering work of Lazarsfeld and Stanton (1948-49), mass communication research has produced outcroppings of evidence that an individual's ties to a local community are linked with the use of newspapers. There have been two different ideas about the nature of this relationship. Some authors have asked whether the use of newspapers contributes to the individual's "sense of community," (e.g., Janowitz, 1952), while recent investigators have asked the opposite, whether identifying with the community leads to use of newspapers (e.g., Shaw, 1978).

Both questions are important to journalism, but for different reasons. The possibility that newspapers help people to become identified with a community points to a significant function of journalism. The importance of such a function should not be under-estimated in a society as mobile as ours. According to many observers, the individual in a mobile society suffers from identity problems which can be traced in large part to the difficulty of establishing roots in a community.

According to Klapp (1969), the community represents an important reference point in the individual's sense of personal identity. Consider these words of a Connecticut dairy farmer;

> "Natives of a place feel themselves in the presence of a continuing life force larger than they are. Someone cares. Surrounded by sights, sounds, and people totally familiar to him, the man who lives where he was born is rarely alone.
>
> .....Every day on his way to work, the man who lives where he was born passes the graves of his ancestors and their aspirations, noble or ignoble, by some osmosis become part of his own."
> (Klapp, 1969, 24-25)

How might newspapers contribute to this important dimension of personal identity - the sense of belonging in a community? The underlying mechanisms have been posited by a number of authors, beginning with Janowitz' (1952) study of the community press. Janowitz and later authors (Greer, 1956; Edelstein and Larsen, 1960; Greenberg, 1964) saw newspapers as seeking to create, to reinforce and to extend feelings of interdependence and identification held by members of the community. Newspapers are said to facilitate such a process by supporting group activities, enhancing personal prestige, disclosing threats to the community, defining local issues and reflecting local opinion (Edelstein and Larsen, 1960). Similarly, Bogart and Orenstein (1965) say that continuous exposure to the news minutiae of a particular town creates a sense of identity with its people and its institutions.

Others who have been concerned with community identification have raised a different question. Rather than asking where community identification comes from, they have asked how people become newspaper users. Some of these authors have developed measures of community identification and shown them to be correlates of various measures of news readership (Blexrud, 1972; Shaw, 1978; Stevenson, 1979; and Stevens, 1978). Community identification is used in this case as a "predictor" of news readership.[1] In a similar vein, several researchers have demonstrated that indicators of community "rootedness"--such as home ownership, and length of residence are correlated with readership. In addition, Jackson and stamm (1979) have shown that these variables are correlated with the stability of newspaper subscriptions over time.

[1]The usage of community identification as a predictor of newspaper subscribership and readership does not require (or necessarily imply) that community identification is either an antecedent condition for, or a cause of, newspaper use.

At first glance these studies of "community identification" appear to have a common conceptual base, suggesting that a body of knowledge has accumulated bearing upon the same relationship. But caution demands a closer inspection. Considering that the measures for this concept have differed, it is very likely that different concepts should be distinguished. There is the question of what is being identified with -- has "community" meant the same thing to all investigators? And has "identification" meant the same thing to everyone? This is also questionable, considering that some have used the term "involvement," while others refer to "identification." A conceptual analysis that would distinguish the possible meanings of community and of identification should help to sort out what has been done, and contribute to ordering the agenda for further research.

COMMUNITY

Before we consider the cognitive mechanisms by which identification with a community may occur, it is necessary to try to specify the social unit that constitutes a community. What social unit (or units) may be regarded as a community? Social researchers have struggled with this question for a century or more. We needn't retrace that struggle in detail here, but because awareness of (a community) is a necessary condition for "identification with" (a community), it is important to sort out some of the units which furnish objects of community identification.

Most community observers agree that a community is a place -- a spatial unit with boundaries that distinguish it from space, and from other places. This component of community was present in nearly all 94 definitions included in Hillery's (1955) review of community definitions. An example of the spatial component is provided by Broom and Selznick's (1963) definition.

> "Communities are usually based on locality--a village, city or nation. The geographical area and a sense of place set the boundaries of common living and provide a basis for solidarity....." (p. 109).

The notion of community as a place is central to the newspaper's concept of circulation area, which is also tied to a particular locale. But several things have happened that make it difficult to identify communities (and therefore circulation areas) simply on the basis of locale (Cf., Burd, 1979). Among these are ubranization and the mobility of the American population.

As a result of urbanization, we have the phenomenon of (previously) distinct communities growing together into cities. In this process a new entity is created--the city--which is an aggregate of previously identified communities. Often the newspaper circulation area attempts to subsume the entire aggregate unit. One of the difficulties facing such an effort is that individuals needn't identify with the city, thus the newspaper represents a unit that is not psychologically meaningful to all potential readers. A second difficulty is that identification with smaller units (e.g., "neighborhoods" and neighborhood communities") may remain strong, and provide the basis of a viable "community press" within the city.

The mobility of individuals within and between such urban areas also has implications for community identification, and for newspaper circulation. The mobile urbanite, even it he remains in the same city, lives in more and one "community"--working in a different place from where he sleeps, and perhaps shopping and spending leisure time in still different places. The community of the urbanite at any rate does not appear to be as localized as that of people living in smaller towns and villages. And in addition to this, we must deal with mobility at another

level. The career-oriented individual doesn't make his work where his home is -- he makes his home where his work is. Thus, on both a day-to-day and a year-to-year basis, the lives of many individuals and families are not tied to any particular place, at least not for very long.

This is not to say that the identity of communities as places no longer holds. Some research seems to indicate, for example, that the identity of urban neighborhoods remains intact, even while the use of neighborhood services and facilities declines (Hunter, 1975). But it does suggest that in urban areas communities are not as readily distinguished in spatial terms, and that other criteria for identifying communities should be considered.

In addition to being "places," communities have generally been distinguished on the basis of common endeavor, to share and carry on activities in pursuit of common interests (Nelson, 1948). There are several aspects of collective endeavor that need to be considered in relation to community identification. This is particularly important here because of the possibility of common conceptual ground between "community identification" and "political involvement." Once we go beyond community as a geographic entity, and enter the realm of collective endeavor, we can begin to view community as a political entity.

One thing that has not been very clear about this view of community is the difference between a process of collective endeavor and an institutional structure for collective endeavor (e.g., government). Giving attention to the effort to create "community," some have defined community as a process (Follett, 1919). Or, attending to the structure produced, communities have been seen as collections of institutions, e.g., Park, 1925; Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1946), and as trade centers (Taylor, 1945; Sims, 1969; Galpin, 1915).

Community as a process draws our attention to individual involvement and the citizen role; ideas must be shared, policies formulated, priorities set, and a myriad of other political processes by which the development of a community is conceived and guided. To describe community process in entity terms is to commit a reification, but it may nevertheless help to capture what we're talking about. The concept of a "public" comes very close to what we mean (Carey, 1979). A public is not just any demographic segment of a population, rather it is those individuals engaged in ratic̈nal discourse about a question of common concern. Such publics may be associated with a place, but they may also function independently of locale (e.g., "intellectual community"). Since our purpose here is explanation of newspaper readerhsip, we must be particularly concerned with "local publics"--such as neighborhood discussions of zoning policies, ci'.izen/government interaction about planning, and the like.

Community as the implementation of collective interests reflects the ways in which common needs have been accomodated through organizational structures, both public and private. Local communities that are relatively self-sufficient in this regard commonly contain businesses and institutions that provide for services in such areas as: economic, educational, religious, health, social, transportation, communication, government. Earlier notions of community prescribed that they be self-sufficient with respect to all these services, while recent discussions observe that few local communities are self-contained to such a degree.

If we are to investigate the individual's sense of identification with a community, it appears there are three major types of community

to explore. These types include:

(1) place, or locale;

(2) public (community process);

(3) organizational structure (e.g., government, institutions).

Conceivably, the individual might identify with any or all of these community entities. If it is with the first, we have a version of community identification that does not appear to overlap with notions of political identification and involvement. But once we begin to deal with community as process and as organizational structure, it becomes difficult to separate community identification from political identification, and perhaps it is best for this reason to regard political identification as a case of community identification.

Individual history and community makeup will determine which of these identifications occur. But before we can pursue the question of identification separately from related questions--e.g., community involvement, we should examine some of the other relationships that may occur between individual and community.

INDIVIDUAL/COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

Explication of the relation "identification with community" will be undertaken in three stages. First, identification will be distinguished to the extent possible from other relationships, such as membership, participation, involvement, etc., that have sometimes been confused with identification. Next, the concept of identification will be elaborated as a set of cognitive mechanisms used by the individual to define his relation to community. Finally, a preliminary model for a process of community identification will be outlined as a point of departure for research.

IDENTIFICATION

A number of usages for identification are given by English and English (1958), going back to its psychological origins in psychoanalytic theory. These usages stick to a common core -- all refer to a cognitive act involving a classification by the individual. In the most basic usage, the individual recognizes an attribute by which he can be identified; cognitively he subsumes himself within an identifying attribute. Verbally, the result may be labelling--e.g., "capitalist," "middle class," "Californian."

In its derivative usage in psychoanalytic theory and in social psychology, the concept has picked up surplus meaning, and the cognitive act is modified. Referring once more to English and English:

> "....the individual so strongly feels himself a member of a group that he adopts its ideas, beliefs and habits."

Now the individual is placing himself inside a group (i.e., inside a social unit rather than an attribute), and in addition is both responding affectively and assigning attributes of the group to himself. The surplus meaning beyond the congitive act of assignment implies that the individual has not only placed himself inside, but also feels psychologically close to the group.[2] When identification includes psychological closeness (salience), it may be difficult to break off the relationship. Because of consequences to oneself and/or the other (person, group, etc.); identification (without salience) has no such implications.

This usage shows that the congitive component of identification became entangled with an affective (salience) component in the early going, when psychologists first started using the concept. It became a

[2]Carter (1965) has termed this type of relation with an object "salience."

summary concept used to represent a history of experience with one's family or peer group. For our purposes, however, it may be important to keep these two components separate. Empirically, they may occur independently -- identification with the community but not psychological closeness. But most importantly, the relationship of identification and news readership will never be clarified as long as the concept is confounded.

Unfortunately for us, cognition and salience are not the only conditions that have been included under community identification. It has also included activities that occur in conjunction with living in a community. For example, acts of participation such as voting, registering to vote, attending meetings of service organizations and political groups have often been regarded as indications of community identification. Conceptually, these activities should be related to community, but distinguished from cognition and salience.

The most common practice has been to develop indexes of "community identification" which equate community identification with social interaction and participation at the operationalization stage. Thus, indexes of community identification are sometimes tied to social activities rather than cognitive acts (e.g., Sutton and Koloja, 1960; Munch and Campbell, 1963). At the same time, efforts to operationalize community identification in terms of separate cognitive and activity dimensions have generally produced conflicting results (Alexander and Nelson, 1949; Mayo, 1949; Munch and Campbell, 1963).

For example, in a recent study of news readership and community identification, Blexrud (1972) sought to develop separate indexes of "social community identification" and "psychological community identification." His results bore out the importance of the distinction;

indexes of the two were not strongly inter-correlated, and they accounted for separate portions of the variance in "newspaper orientation."

COGNITIVE MECHANISMS OF IDENTIFICATION

So far we have established the conceptual independence of several dimensions subsumed under community identification: (1) involvement in a "community process," (2) cognition, (3) salience, and (4) various activities by which individual and community may be related. We would like now to direct particular attention to cognitive phenomena by which the individual defines his relationship to a community. Conventional usage has pointed to two such phenomena: including oneself inside a subsuming object (part-whole identification), and assigning oneself to a defining attribute (classificatory identification). Next, we will explore the possibility that there are additional congnitive mechanisms that can be usefully regarded as cases of community identification.

It can be rather unproductive to do this by sifting through literature that alludes to a concept of identification because, as we have already seen, the concept has acquired so much surplus meaning. Therefore, a conceptual perspective on cognitive behavior was adopted to help in the sifting. This perspective is based on a theory of ideational structures developed by Carter (1977).

Carter's theory suggested some additional cognitive mechanisms by which community identification might take place. The first of these would occur if the individual were to (cognitively) invert either of the community identifications noted above. That is, instead of being inside of the "community," it is conceivable that the individual would identify with the community by "internalizing" it -- putting the community inside himself. Secondly, allowing for a situation in which identification

involves an association with other persons, we have the possibility of an identificatory mechanism in which the community is something that is common to two (or more) people.

In order to illustrate more clearly the four types of community identification that we are discussing, an effort will be made to provide examples of each type from as many sources as possible. The four types of community identification to be exemplified are:

(1) Part-whole identification--including oneself inside a subsuming object (e.g., place or group);

(2) Classificatory identification--including oneself inside a subsuming attribute (e.g., "redneck," "conservative");

(3) Internalized identification--including the community inside the self;

(4) Peer group identification--including both the self and an other inside a common object or attribute.

Part-Whole Identification

To the extent that the concept has been given a cognitive referent, the research literature is about equally divided between the first two mechanisms. Part-whole identification was emphasized by Lazarsfeld and Stanton (1949) in the distinction between "localities" and "cosmopolities," a localite being an individual who is "deeply rooted" in the local community. Burdge (1970) developed a scale for measuring "identification with place," an indicator of individual resistance to relocation forced by government flood control projects. Some of the items from Burdge's scale furnish good examples: "People like me belong in a place like this;" "I really feel that I'm a natural part of this place."

Newcomb (1966) provides some excellent examples of identification with the college community (a social unit). In the words of Newcomb's respondents, community identification entailed:

"...at the same time becoming part of the college organism."
"...part of the feeling that I really belong here."
"I had never really been part of anything before."
"I can't see my own position in the world in any other terms."

Classificatory Identification

Other sociologists appear to have an identifying attribute (not a thing) in mind. Durkheim (1947), for example, saw identification as an inevitable consequence of social existence:

> "....it is impossible for men to live together associating in industry, without acquiring a sentiment of the whole formed by their union, without attaching themselves to that whole...."

The "whole" which Durkheim refers to can be viewed as attributes that members of the collectivity are subsumed under. In a similar vein, Deutsch (1954) says that belonging and having a place are sources of psychological attachment between individuals and the social entities in their environment.

One last example, which embraces the sense of both mechanisms (1 & 2), was gleaned from Tennyson's classic poem--Ulysses.

"I am a part of all that I have met."

Internalized Identification

Examples of the next two mechanisms were harder to come by, but some were found which exemplify the idea that the place where one lives becomes a part of the person. We should begin by recalling the familiar expressions, "You can get the boy out of the country, but you can't get the country out of the boy," and "I'm a New Yorker at heart."[3]

Again in this instance, a poet was found to have voiced the postulated idea of community identification. Rupert Brooke, in "The Soldier," wrote:

> "...wherever I am buried is some corner of a foreign shore that is forever England..."

[3]The author is grateful to Steven Chaffee for recalling these expressions, and the line from Rupert Brooke's poem above.

Although this rather powerful form of community identification has been given popular and poetic expression, there is little evidence of it in the research literature on community identification. The only place it could be located was in Burdge's effort to measure "identification with place." Burdge's index included items suggestive of this idea, in addition to those cited earlier:

"This area is in my blood."

"This place is really a part of me."

"This is the only place I could ever call home."

Before turning to the remaining mechanism, let's apply these ideas to a familiar operationalism of community identification -- political party identification. This entails identification with a social unit, which could take the form of being a part of the party, or the party becoming part of oneself (as in "I'm a Republican at heart"). For some reason, party identification is never measured in either of these ways. Either respondents are asked to label themselves as in classification identification ("Would you call yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?"), or they are asked about participation (Robinson, et. al., 1968). Neither of these approaches gets directly at identification with a political party.

Peer Group Identification

The remaining mechanism (4) distinguishes community identification which is manifested as a "sense of sharing a way of life and a common place" (MacIver and Page, 1949). Of the community definitions reviewed by Hillery (1955), the majority specified an awareness of similarities, common interests, etc. ("people like me") as a defining condition for

community. In other words, community is in part a psychological construct, and people feel like a part of it by virtue of shared attributes.

Some of Newcomb's (1966) respondents appeared to identify with the college community in this way:

> "It meant identification with the faculty and students I most wanted to be like."

Other examples include interest groups, minority groups, peer groups, and even consumer groups, where in all cases the basis for identification appear to be a thing, concern, belief, idea, attribute, etc. that is held in common with others.

THE PROCESS OF COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION

Considering our observations that the concept subsumes several distinct behavioral dimensions, it is both appropriate and useful to try to inter-relate these in a "process of community identification." The process view simply postulates that the dimensions of community identification develop over time, reflecting the individual's history of experience with a given community. This (process) view is consistent with empirical observations that individual's "sense of community" increases over time (Mather, Townsend and Sanderson, 1933; Anderson, 1954). Cognitively, identification may "increase" over time by developing into additional forms. Psychologically, closeness (or salience) to the community may also increase over time.

The major obstacle to constructing such a process model lies in specifying a sequence of development -- which dimensions of identification come first, which second, and so on. Even though the sequence proposed is largely hypothetical, it may nevertheless serve a useful purpose to construct a preliminary model. It will serve to make explicit the authors' preliminary notions so that they can be subjected to test, and help direct

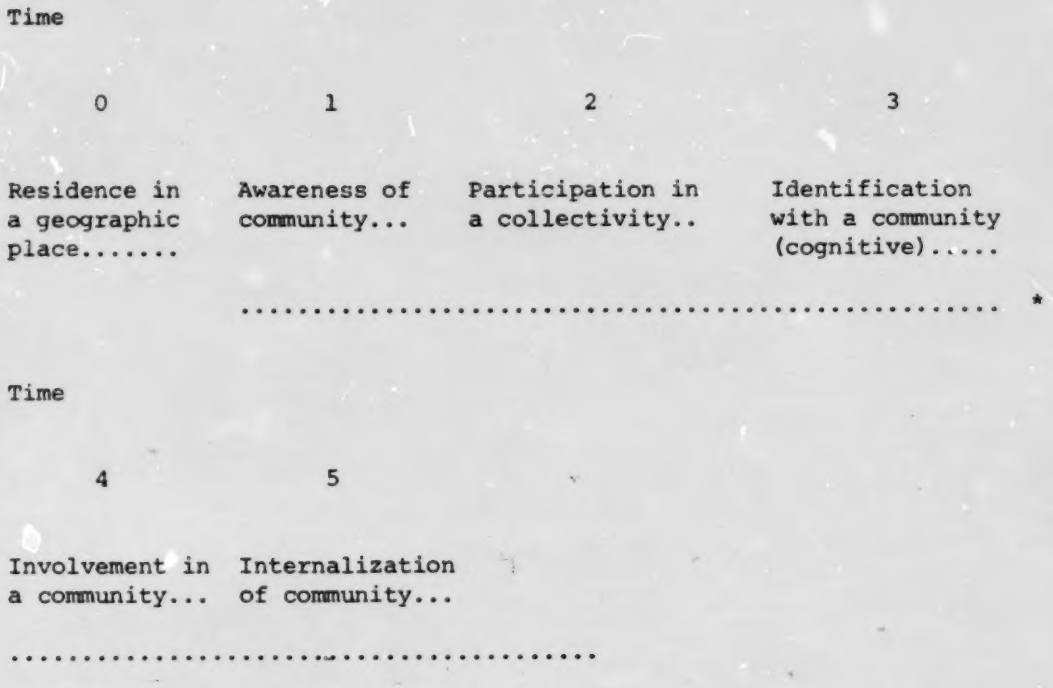
research attention to those forms of identification that can be most readily distinguished in the field.

Six major steps have been distinguished in a process model that begins with the individual's residence in a place and grows to a point at which the individual sees the community as a part of himself (Figure 1). Many individuals will not achieve all six stages of community development; the important point for research purposes will be to ascertain the stage that has been reached by each individual, and to find out how much time this process takes.

To get a better idea how this model relates to the individual's experience with a community, let's construct a story of community identification that illustrates what would be happening at each stage.

Our story begins with a certain Ms. Roberta Q., who takes an apartment in a quiet suburb known to the locals as Forest Park. She commutes to work in the city, is divorced, has two children. For the first year, Forest Park is just a place to reside. Her new job and her children occupy all her time and energy. In the second year she moves to a small, two bedroom house in Forest Park, and begins to get acquainted with some of the neighbors, and to acquire a sense of Forest Park as a neighborhood. There are a lot of people there like herself--working mothers, school parents, people with common problems and interests to share. Soon, she begins to do things with people in the neighborhood: have Saturday morning coffee, have people in, go to garden club, trade babysitting. Still, she is cautious at first. She doesn't want it to go too far -- she has enough responsibilities already (job, family) without getting involved in the neighborhood.

Figure 1. A Process Model of Communication Identification.



*The individual's psychological closeness to a community would not begin to develop until he had located himself (cognitively) inside the community.

But as time goes on she feels more and more comfortable in Forest Park. It's more than a place to live. It's where her home and friends are. She's aware of being a part of the neighborhood, and feels she belongs there.

Involvement comes gradually, in a number of ways. She develops a lot of "connections" with people in the neighborhood. She appreciates the quiet and attractiveness of the neighborhood, and helps with garden club projects to maintain them. It seems that anything that threatens to change the neighborhood, even people moving, is of direct concern to Ms. Roberta Q. Her own sense of identity is by now tied up in the neighborhood -- it's like the neighborhood has become so much a part of her that she could not be herself anywhere else.

This story serves to illustrate only one path that community identification might take. For any one individual, there may in fact be many such paths negotiated, and the individual will get farther down some of them than others. The point of a process view is not so much which community the individual is indentifying with, or even how many communities he is aware of or participates in. The more important point is how far the individual gets in his identification with any community. Our general expectation is that each additional step in the development of community identification will be associated with changes in use of local community newspapers.

NEWSPAPER USE AND COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION: AN INITIAL STUDY

An investigation is proposed that would yield data describing the covariance between newspaper use and three dimensions of community identification. The purpose of the investigation will be to describe the stages

of community identification that coincide with various patterns of newspaper use. Specifically, we will attempt to show that users of newspapers, as compared to non-users, are more likely to possess cognitive, psychological closeness, and community involvement.

Considering that communities of various types may be relevant to each individual (i.e., places, and various collectivities), an effort will be made to determine the state of identification attained with those communities that are relevant to the individual. This can't be done for all relevant communities; the point is to make the survey broad enough to reduce the risk of missing important objects of identification. Pretesting will be valuable for identifying major types of communities to be pursued with the survey population.

The description of newspaper use will not be based on a single measure. That would be too risky given that previous studies have used a variety of measures, and thus there is little or no agreement on what is being predicted by community identification. Some measures have tapped temporal patterns of readership, such as daily use (Shaw, 1978), while others pertain to specific content (Stevenson, 1979), or to the number of newspapers read (Stevens, 1978). It has been demonstrated that such different measures of newspaper use tend to yield vastly different patterns of covariance with the same independent variable (Stamm, Jackson, and Jacoubovitch, 1979). Measures of newspaper use will be selected to describe:

(1) subscription;

(2) type of newspaper used (local/non-local);

(3) no. of newspapers read; and

(4) amt. of use.

In addition to community identification and newspaper use, some background variables will be included that are indicative of the individual's "settling" into the community, and have been previously correlated with newspaper use. These variables will be used to check the validity of the community identification measures, and as control variables. Those individuals who are more identified should also show greater evidence of settling into the community by other measures, including:

(1) length of previous residence;

(2) anticipated length of residence;

(3) home ownership;

(4) age.

METHODS

A questionnaire was designed to collect data on community identification, involvement and newspaper use over the telephone. The entire questionnaire was pretested three times over the telephone and was revised after each pretest. The final questionnaire was between five and ten minutes in length.

The measures for community identification and salience warrant special attention in this section. Because identification and salience are conceptually distinct, it was important to keep them operationally distinct as well. After the respondent named the community in which he lived, he was asked to imagine that community as a circle. To measure his identification with that community, he was asked whether he would place himself inside or outside that circle. If the respondent placed himself inside, he was then asked to indicate his closeness to the center of the circle -- "very close," "close," "not very close".

During an in-person pretest of these measures, a circle was drawn for the respondent and he was asked to mark his location with regard to that circle with an "X". During the phone pretesting, the respondent was asked to imagine the circle and describe his location in terms of "inside" vs. "outside," and the three degrees of closeness. None of the respondents had any difficulty with this task.

The final questionnaire consisted of items which tapped the respondent's identification with the community which he was living and with some other group of the respondent's choice (formal organization, social group, or interest group). In addition, a set of involvement items was administered, which had been designed and pretested to discriminate five levels of involvement. Also, a set of newspaper subscribership measures was taken, including number of subscriptions, type of newspaper subscribed to and length of subscription. Two questions tapping readership of newspapers were asked of those who said they had read a newspaper today or yesterday -- the amount of time spent reading and recall of stories read. Finally, the respondent was asked about his length of residence in the Seattle area, his home ownership status, plans to move, and age.

The questionnaire was administered to a proportionate random sample of 800 telephone subscribers in the Greater Seattle area during early June, 1979. The sample was calculated from a phone company listing of the number of residential and business phones on each exchange in Greater Seattle. If an exchange prefix contained 50 percent or more business numbers, then that exchange was eliminated from the sample. The sample was drawn from the remaining eligible exchanges. The ratio of residential phones at each exchange to the total number of residential phones in Greater Seattle was calculated and multiplied by 800. This produced a quota for each exchange proportionate to the number of residential phones at that exchange. The last four digits for each phone number were generated randomly. Initially, 1191 contacts were made. Of those 391 resulted in refusals. Thus, the final sample was 800 and the completion rate was 67 percent.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

At the time of this report a thorough analysis of our survey findings had not yet been completed. Although we have collected data bearing on three types of communities, our findings at this point will include only place communities. Also, we will not present any findings bearing on community involvement (as distinguished from identification), although we have carried the analysis far enough to know that we have been successful in developing a scale of community

involvement. We will present and discuss a variety of findings in which cognitive identification (of the part-whole variety) has been separated from psychological identification (closeness to community). Thus, we can separately analyze the association of newspaper use variables to each of these, and elaborate our findings by introducing some indicators of the individual's community history as test factors. Our basic objectives in this preliminary analysis will be to present separate accounts of the covariance between newspaper use variables and the two dimensions of community identification that we have distinguished, and to seek empirical evidence for the validity of our community identification measures.

Newspaper Use and Cognitive Identification

It is important to note that the majority of the respondents (73%) cognitively located themselves inside their community of residence. Only 27% located themselves outside.

TABLE 1 HERE

The percentage of people who considered themselves inside their residential community increased as the number of newspaper subscriptions increased (Table 1). This finding is elaborated in Table 2. It indicates that subscription to each of several types of newspapers (as opposed to no newspaper) enhanced the likelihood of identification with the residential community. People who subscribed to a national or metropolitan dialy, or a community weekly were much more likely to (cognitively) locate themselves inside a place community than persons not subscribing to any newspaper.

TABLE 2 HERE

The lack of a significant difference in identification between the non-subscribers and those who subscribe to a suburban daily requires further further analysis. It is possible that subscribers to suburban dailies are different from other newspaper subscribers because of their location in a suburb. Eventually, these respondents will be analyzed separately.

The proportion of newspaper subscribers who located themselves inside the residential community steadily increased as the length of newspaper subscription increased (Table 3). It is important to note, however, that length of subscribership is confounded with length of residence in the community. Those who had subscribed to a local paper

TABLE 3 HERE

for a long time were also very likely to have lived in Seattle for a long time.

Together, these tables indicate that newspaper subscription is positively associated with residential community identification. People who subscribed to two or more newspapers, especially long term subscribers to metropolitan dailies and community weeklies, were more likely to locate themselves inside a community.

We turn now to the findings for news readership. These measures were taken only for those who said they had read a newspaper either "today" or "yesterday." The variables reflect readership for that one day, not "average" readership aggregated over several days and/or several different newspapers.

TABLE 4 HERE

The percentage of persons who located theselves inside the community increased with amount of time spent reading, but only up to a point. This percentage leveiled off and declined somewhat after 11 to 29 minutes of reading. Spending more than half an hour with the newspaper did not seem to contribute any further to identification with the community. On the other hand, a greater percentage of the persons who spent ten minutes or less with the newspaper located themselves outside the community.

TABLE 5 HERE

The percentage of persons who located themselves inside the community was greater for those who recalled some story they read than for those who could recall no stories. There was no difference in identification due to the type of story recalled -- local or non-local (Table 5).

The readership findings show that there were differences in identification which can be explained by reading behavior. Persons who spent more time reading were more likely to locate themselves inside the community, whereas people who spent less than ten minutes were more likely to locate themselves outside the community. In addition, people who had read the paper carefully enough to be able to recall at least some story they had read were also more likely to locate themselves inside the community.

Cognitive Identification by Community History Indicators

Several background variables were included in the study that have been used as indicators of community identification (in a broad sense) previously, but which basically reflect one or more aspects of an individual's experience with a community over time. These indicators will serve two purposes in the current analyses. First, to the extent that they are correlated with our measures of cognitive identification and of closenss, they provide evidence of the empirical validity of our measures. Second, they can be used to elaborate observed relationships between newspaper use and our measures of community identification, allowing us to both test the robustness of these relationships and further specify the conditions under which they hold.

It has often been observed that newspaper subscribership and readership reach their peaks after 30 years of age, and decline at retirement age. But what about community identification? Does it exhibit a similar relationship with age? If so, it becomes necessary to examine the relationship between newspaper use and cognitive identification while controlling for age; it may be that cognitive identification is related to newspaper use simply because both are related to age. Findings in Table 6 clearly suggest the possibility of a spurious relationship, as cognitive identification was most frequent within the 30-64 age group.

TABLE 6 HERE

Elaboration of our previous finding for newspaper use and cognitive identification, however, shows that the relation holds for those under 30 years of age, as well as for those over 30. If anything, newspaper subscription appeared to be more strongly related to cognitive identification among those under 30 (Table 9).

It has also been previously observed that newspaper use is related to length of residence in a community (Shaw, 1978; Jackson & Stamm, 1979). It might also be expected that the likelihood of cognitive identification would increase with length of residence. Our findings show this is clearly the case (Table 7). Of those residing in a community for a year or less, 61% placed themselves in the community (cognitively), while 77% of those residing in the same place for 10 years or more placed themselves inside.

TABLE 7 HERE

We therefore asked whether the relationship between newspaper use and cognitive identification might be explained by years of residence (if not by age). In this case, we found that the relationship between number of subscriptions and identification was strongest among those residing in the same place 10 years or more (Table 9). The relationship remained positive among "short-term" residents, but was no longer statistically significant.

The above finding showed once more that the relationship between newspaper use and cognitive identification is not spurious. At the same time, it does indicate that newspaper use works in conjunction with length of residence to increase the likelihood of cognitive identification. Long term residents who subscribed to one or less newspapers, were no more likely to be identified than short term residents subscribing to two or more newspapers.

Finally, we correlated cognitive identification with the individual's home ownership status in the community due to previous findings showing that home buyers are more likely to be newspaper subscribers than are renters (Shaw, 1978; Jackson & Stamm, 1979). Home ownership (or buying) is also regarded as an indicator that the individual is settled into the community, and if that is the case it should be positively correlated with cognitive identification.

TABLES 8 AND 9 HERE

In examining the relationship between home ownership and identification, we introduced years of residence as a control to eliminate is as a source of confounding (Table 8). Home buying and ownership tend to increase with length of residence. The findings showed, however, that home buying makes an independent contribution to community identification; in fact, buying accounts for more difference in cognitive identification that does length of residence. This parallels previous findings which have shown home buying to be a more powerful predictor of newspaper subscription than years of residence (Jackson & Stamm, 1979).

Introduction of home buying as a control provided further insight into the relationship between cognitive identification and newspaper use. In this case, newspaper subscription accounted for very little difference in identification amoung buyers, but contributed to large differences among renters (Table 9). In other words, newspapers appear to be important to the community identification of renters, but not to

the cognitive identification of home buyers and owners.

Newspaper Subscribership and Closeness to Community

Of the persons who located themselves inside the community in which they live, 38% did not see themselves as very close to the center of that community, while 47% saw themselves as "close" and 15% as "very close" to the center of the community.

TABLE 10 HERE

The pattern evident in Table 10, while not statistically signigicant, is clearly consistent with the results for cognitive identification (Table 1). As the number of newspaper subscriptions increased, so did closeness to the center of the community. The differences were most pronounced at the highest degree of closeness. Subscribers to two or more papers included a greater proportion of persons who felt "very close" to the center of their community.

TABLE 11 HERE

The pattern evident in Table 11 again shows very slight, statistically nonsignificant differences in closeness due to subscribership. The differences varied somewhat according to the type of newspaper subscribed to. A greater proportion of metro daily subscribers were "close" (as compared to non-subscribers). Subscribers to community weeklies were the most likely to report feeling "very close" to their communities.

TABLE 12 HERE

Length of newspaper subscription showed a stronger, statistically significant relationship to psychological identification. As length of subscription increased, so did the proportion of people reporting that they were "close" or "very close" to the center of their communities. Once again, it is important to note that the length of subscription variable is empirically confounded with length of residence.

The results in these tables have consistently indicated that newspaper subscribers are closer to their communities, although this pattern is not as strong as previously found for cognitive identification.

Consistent with the subscribership findings, readership also produced some small differences in closeness (Table 13). Generally, as the amount of time spent reading the newspaper increased, so did the likelihood of psychological closeness. Interestingly, the proportion feeling "close" levelled off at the same point as cognitive identification--11-29 minutes of reading. But the proportion feeling "very close" increased throughout the full range of reading time.

TABLE 13 HERE

Recall of stories read also accounted for some slight differences in closeness. Persons who recalled a story of either type--local or non-local--were more likely to be close to the center (not statistically significant). This pattern is much weaker, but is consistent with the direction of the finding for cognitive identification (Table 5).

Overall, readership and subscribership variables did not account for much variance in psychological closeness, although the covariance observed consistently indicated a positive contribution. The findings for cognitive identification, however, have indicated a much stronger association between newspaper use and community identification.

Psychological Closeness by Indicators of Community

Having examined the covariance of newspaper use and closeness to community, we turn as before to the indicators of settling into a community--age, length of residence, and home buying. Our purposes in doing this are similar to those given for examining the correlations with cognitive identification, but there is one additional question. Since closeness to community has been conceptualized as a special case of salience, it is particularly important to the validation of our measure of closeness to find a correlation with any indicator that tends to reflect accumulated experience in a community. Consistent with this conceptualization, we should find that such indicators are more strongly associated with closeness than are variables which reflect newspaper use.

TABLE 15 HERE

As we observed previously for the relationship of cognitive identification with age, the relationship of closeness with age is curvilinear (Table 15). The 65 and over age group had the greatest proportion of persons feeling "close" to their community, while those 30-64 were the most likely to feel "very close." There are many

interesting explanations for such curvilinearity, but these should probably be put forth and tested in a later study, rather than offered as post hoc explanations here.

The introduction of age as a control in the relationship of newspaper subscription to closeness did nothing to either enhance or diminish that relationship (Table 18). There was only a slight indication that newspaper subscription is more strongly related to closeness among those under 30 years of age.

TABLE 16 HERE

Unlike the result for age, closeness to community increased linearly with years of residence (Table 16). But again, the introduction of length of residence as a control failed to tease out a relationship between subscription and closeness to community (Table 18). There was some indication that short term residents were more likely to be close if they subscribed to two or more newspapers, but the difference was not statistically reliable.

TABLES 17 AND 18 HERE

In view of the previous finding for home buying and cognitive identification, the finding for psychological closeness is surprising (Table 17). Buyers were no more likely than renters to feel close to their community, regardless of length of residence. We previously established that home buying made a strong and independent contribution to cognitive identification (Table 8). This additional finding makes it clear that home buying, unlike length of residence, contributes only to the variance in cognitive identification. It is not surprising, then, that home buying added nothing to the interpretation of the weak relationship between newspaper use and closeness to community (Table 18).

Summary of Results

An initial correlational analysis was conducted to pursue questions of whether newspaper use is positively associated with cognitive identification and psychological closeness. A variety of measures of newspaper subscription and readership consitently showed strong, positive associations with cognitive identification. These associations proved to be robust, surviving several tests for spuriousness. Newspaper use showed little association with psychological identification under any of the conditions tested.

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Table 1. Percent inside place by no. of newspaper subscriptions.

	No. of subscriptions:	
	1 or less	2-3
% inside	69.1%	81.9
% outside	30.9	18.1
N	485	254

$\chi^2 = 13.40$, $p<.001$, 1dF.

Table 2: Percent inside place by type of newspaper subscription.

	Subscribes to:				
	None	Natl.[1]	Metro[2]	Suburban[3]	Weekly[4]
% inside	66.5%	95.8**	75.9*	72.0	88.9***
% outside	33.5	4.2	24.1	28.0	12.0
N	155	24	548	143	75

[1]National daily newspaper from outside Seattle area -- e.g., Wall Street Journal.

[2]Either of the two Seattle dailies -- The Seattle Times, or The Post-Intelligencer.

[3]A suburban daily within the Seattle SMSA.

[4]A weekly newspaper serving a Seattle neighborhood.

*Chi square significant @ <.05, 1dF (comparisons are all between subscriber group and non-subscribers).

**p<.01, 1dF

***p<.001, 1dF

Table 3. Percent inside place by length of newspaper subscription.

	Yrs. of Subscription:		
	1 or less	2-5	6 or more
% inside	64.0%	70.9	80.3
% outside	36.0	29.1	19.7
N	144	158	314

$\chi^2 = 13.28$, 2df, $p<.004$

Table 4. Percent inside place by amount of time spent reading an issue.

	Minutes of time:			
	10 or less	11-29	30-55	>55
% inside	64.3%	80.3	74.5	74.2
% outside	35.7	19.7	25.5	25.8
N	168	142	235	221

$\chi^2 = 10.75$, 3df, $p<.01$

Table 5. Percent inside place by recall of stories.[1]

	Stories recalled:		
	None	1 or > local	1 or > non-local
% inside	65.0%	75.0	77.2
% outside	35.0	25.0	22.8
N	206	76	421

$\chi^2 = 10.57$, 2df, $p<.005$

[1]Based on recall of stories only for those who had read a newspaper "today" or "yesterday."

Table 6. Percent inside place by age.

	Age: 13-29 yrs.	30-64 yrs.	65 and over
% inside	67.8%	76.8	71.8
% outside	32.2	23.2	28.2
N	242	410	103

$\chi^2 = 6.49$, 2df, $p<.03$

Table 7. Percent inside place by years of residence.

	Years of residence: 1 or < yrs.	2-9 yrs.	10 or > yrs.
% inside	61.0%	65.7	77.0
% outside	39.0	34.3	23.0
N	59	172	535

$\chi^2 = 13.37$, 2df, $p<.001$

Table 8. Percent inside place by home ownership by years of residence.

	Years of residence: <10 yrs.		10 yrs. or >	
	Ownership status: Buying	Renting	Buying	Renting
% inside	73.5%	57.7	81.3	63.9
% outside	26.5	42.3	18.8	36.1
N	98	130	400	133

$\chi^2 = 5.40$, 1df, $p<.02$
$\chi^2 = 15.94$, 1df, $p<.0001$

Table 9. Percent inside place by newspapers subscribed to elaborated by three controls.

	No. Newspaper subscriptions:				
Percent inside	None or 1	2-3	χ^2	p<	N
1st order correl.	69.1%	8.19	13.40	.001	739
Age control:					
Young (13-29)	64.2	82.5	5.84	.01	236
Old (30 or >)	72.2	81.3	4.82	.03	492
Yrs. residence:					
0-9 yrs.	63.1	72.6	1.38	.24	222
10 or more	72.0	84.9	10.55	.001	517
Home status:					
renting	58.1	78.0	4.95	.03	251
buying	77.4	82.6	1.70	.19	483

Table 10. Closeness to place by no. of newspaper subscriptions.[1]

	No. of subscriptions:	
Closeness	1 or less	2-3
% not close	38.2%	38.9
% close	48.9	43.3
% very close	12.9	17.7
N	325	203

χ^2 = 2.81, 2df, p<.25

[1]This and the following breakdowns include only those respondents who located themselved "inside" their place community.

Table 11. Closeness to place by type of newspaper subscription.

	Subscribes to:				
	None	Natl.[1]	Metro[2]	Suburban[3]	Weekly[4]
% not close	48.5%	47.8	36.1	40.8	36.5
% close	39.2	52.2	48.4	41.7	44.4
% very close	12.4	0.0	15.5	17.5	19.0
N	97	23	407	103	63

[1] $\chi^2 = 3.60$, 2dr, $p<.17$
[2] $\chi^2 = 5.04$, 2df, $p<.08$
[3] $\chi^2 = 1.61$, 2df, $p<.45$
[4] $\chi^2 = 2.64$, 2df, $p<.27$

Table 12. Closeness to place by length of subscription.

	Years of subscription:		
	1 or less	2-5	6 or more
% not close	51.4%	44.4	25.6
% close	40.3	41.7	53.3
% very close	8.3	13.9	18.1
N	72	108	255

$\chi^2 = 17.53$, 4df, $p<.001$

Table 13. Closeness to place by amount of time spent reading.

	Minutes of time:			
	10 or less	11-29	30-55	over 55
% not close	41.2%	37.8	37.8	36.2
% close	42.2	53.2	48.8	43.1
% very close	16.7	9.0	13.4	20.6
N	102	111	172	160

$\chi^2 = 8.85$, 6df, $p<.18$

Table 14. Closeness to place by no. of stories recalled.

	Stories recalled: None	1 or > local	1 or > non-local
% not close	44.1%	32.1	36.2
% close	43.3	51.8	47.5
% very close	12.6	16.1	16.4
N	127	56	318

$\chi^2 = 3.54$, 4df, $p<.47$

Table 15. Closeness to place by age.

	Years of age: 13-29	30-64	65 and over
% not close	41.7%	38.5	29.2
% close	49.4	42.4	59.7
% very close	9.0	19.1	11.1
N	156	309	72

$\chi^2 = 14.02$, 4df, $p<.007$

Table 16. Closeness to place by years of residence.

	Yrs. in Seattle: 1 or less	2-9	10 or more
% not close	57.1%	49.5	33.3
% close	37.1	38.3	49.9
% very close	5.7	12.1	16.9
N	35	107	403

$\chi^2 = 16.14$, 4 df, $p<.003$

Table 17. Closeness to place by home ownership status by years of residence.

	Years of residence: 10 yrs.		10 yrs. or more	
	Ownership status:			
	Buying	Renting	Buying	Renting
% not close	49.3%	54.9	33.4	32.1
% close	40.6	33.8	49.8	50.0
% very close	10.1	11.3	16.7	17.9
N	69	71	323	78
	χ^2 = .69, 2df, p<.71		χ^2 = .09, 2df, p<.95	

Table 18. Closeness to place by newspaper subscriptions elaborated by three controls.

		No of subscriptions: None or 1	2-3	χ^2	p<	N
Closeness						
1st order correl.						
	% close	48.9%	43.3	2.81	.25	528
	%very close	12.9	17.7			
2nd order correl.						
AGE	% of young (13-29):					
	close	50.0	47.7	1.56	.46	154
	v. close	7.3	13.6			
	% of old (30->):					
	close	48.8	41.3	2.30	.32	366
	v. close	15.2	19.4			
RESI-DENCE	% of short term:					
	close	40.2	34.9	2.75	.25	140
	v. close	7.2	16.3			
	% of long term:					
	close	52.6	45.6	1.87	.39	388
	v. close	15.4	18.1			
OWNER-SHIP	% of renters:					
	close	43.4	36.7	.57	.75	143
	v. close	14.2	13.3			
	% of buyers:					
	close	51.4	44.5	3.19	.20	381
	v. close	12.5	18.5			